Sensitive to future: the case of Japanese *nara*-conditionals

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LENLS 18
Factual conditionals (Iatridou 1991)

Antecedents have been mentioned in the preceding discourse:

(1) A: Bill is very unhappy here.
B: If he is so unhappy, he should leave.

(Iatridou 1991: 56 (20))

In English, factual conditionals and regular hypothetical conditionals can both be expressed by *if*-constructions.
Factual conditionals (Iatridou 1991)

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(2) Mary-ga {kuru nara / ki-tara / ku-reba / kuru to}, John-mo kuru. Mary-nom come nara come-tara come-ba come to John-also come ‘If Mary comes, John also comes.’
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Only *nara* is acceptable in factual conditionals:
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‘If Mary comes, John also comes.’

Only *nara* is acceptable in factual conditionals:

(3) A: I have decided to go to the winter LSA.
B: kimi-ga \{iku nara / #it-tara / #ik-eba / #iku to\}, boku-mo iku
you-nom go nara go-tara go-ba go to l-add go
yo.
sfp
‘If you’re going, I’m going, too.’ (Adapted from Akatsuka 1985: 629)
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‘If you’re going, I’m going, too.’  
(Adapted from Akatsuka 1985: 629)

Akatsuka (1985): *nara*-antecedents often express ‘**newly acquired information**’.
Today’s goal

The felicity conditions of *nara*-conditionals
Today's goal

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Roadmap
Today's goal

The felicity conditions of *nara*-conditionals

Roadmap

- Discourse properties of *nara*-conditionals;
Today’s goal

The felicity conditions of *nara*-conditionals

Roadmap

- Discourse properties of *nara*-conditionals;
- Implementation within Farkas and Bruce (2010)’s Table model;
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Roadmap

- Discourse properties of *nara*-conditionals;
- Implementation within Farkas and Bruce (2010)’s Table model;

Upshot: *nara*-conditionals are sensitive to what the context could possibly look like at some point of the conversation in the future.
Discourse properties of *nara*
Out-of-the-blue contexts

If a nara-conditional is discourse-initial, the antecedent doesn't express newly acquired info.

[You arrive at a new campus and are lost on your way to the semester orientation. To a stranger...]

(4) sumimasen... sorry supposedly imna now nyugakushiki-no orientation-gen kaijou-ni venue-dat ikareteiru going nara, nara basho-o place-acc oshi-te ote-mas-en give-pol-neg ka?

'Excuse me. If you're going to the orientation, could you tell me where it is?'

Note: Replacing nara with tara would make the sentence felicitous.
Out-of-the-blue contexts

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[You arrive at a new campus and are lost on your way to the semester orientation. To a stranger...]

(4) *sumimasen*...

> sorry
> #moshi ima nyuugakushiki-no kaijou-ni ikareteiru *nara*, basho-o
> supposedly now orientation-gen venue-dat going nara place-acc
> oshiete itadake-mas-en *ka*?
> teach give-pol-neg q
> ‘Excuse me. If you’re going to the orientation, could you tell me where it is?’
Out-of-the-blue contexts

If a *nara*-conditional is discourse-initial, the antecedent doesn’t express newly acquired info.

[You arrive at a new campus and are lost on your way to the semester orientation. To a stranger...]

(4) *sumimasen*...
sorry

#moshi *ima nyuugakushiki-no kaijou-ni ikareteiru* *nara*, *basho-o* supposedly now orientation-gen venue-dat going *nara* place-acc *oshiete itadake-mas-en ka?*
teach give-pol-neg q

‘Excuse me. If you’re going to the orientation, could you tell me where it is?’

Note: Replacing *nara* with *tara* would make the sentence felicitous.
With speaker commitment to the antecedent

If the speaker commits to the antecedent, the antecedent doesn't express newly acquired info.

(5) A: Mary was elected as the next department head.
B: # shit-te-ru know yo! sfp kanojo-ga she-nom era-bare-ta be.selected nara, nara iwatte celebrate age-you. give-vol #I know! If she was elected, we should celebrate for her.
B': souna that no? fin kanojo-ga she-nom era-bare-ta be.selected nara, nara iwatte celebrate age-you. give-vol Is that so? If she was elected, we should celebrate for her.

Note: Other conditionals (e.g. English if, Japanese tara) are also not allowed with 'I know!'.
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B’: souna no? kanojo-ga era-bare-ta nara, iwatte age-you.
   that fin she-nom be.selected nara celebrate give-vol
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Note: Other conditionals (e.g. English if, Japanese tara) are also not allowed with ‘I know!’.
Problematic case for Akatsuka’s view: After questions
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(6) A: Where’s the professor?
B: *wakar-anai kedo, ofisu-ni iru nara, boku-mo kiki-tai koto-ga aru.*

‘I don’t know, but if she’s in the office, I also have something to ask her.’
Problematic case for Akatsuka’s view: After questions

(6) A: Where’s the professor?

B: *wakar-anai kedo, ofisu-ni iru nara, boku-mo kiki-tai koto-ga aru.*

know-neg but office-dat be nara I-add ask-want thing-nom be ‘I don’t know, but if she’s in the office, I also have something to ask her.’

The antecedent does not express newly acquired info, but *nara* is felicitous.
Interim summary

1. *nara*-conditionals are felicitous
   - after assertions
   - after questions

2. *nara*-conditionals are infelicitous
   - in out-of-the-blue contexts

3. Conditionals (including *nara*-conditionals) are infelicitous
   - with speaker commitments to the antecedent

(cf. paper for constraint regrading direct evidence for the antecedent)
Assumed Table model (Farkas & Bruce 2010)
A context $c = \langle \text{Table}, \text{CS}, \text{Fut-CS}, \text{Temp-CS} \rangle$

**Table:**

**Context set (CS):**

**Future context set (Fut-CS):**

**Temporary context set (Temp-CS):**
A context $c = \langle \text{Table}, \text{CS}, \text{Fut-CS}, \text{Temp-CS} \rangle$

**Table**: a stack of sets of propositions,
- records what has been proposed in the discourse so far;

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- represents the mutual joint beliefs of the interlocutors (cf. Stalnaker 1978)

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Speech acts are functions from input to output contexts.
Illustration 1: Assertions

An assertion is a proposal to update the context set. Add the set of the proposition to the top of the table context set. Project a future context set where the proposition holds.

(7) A: Mary is going to the LSA.

Note: When Table is empty, the actual context set is projected as the future context set (Farkas and Bruce 2010).
An assertion is a proposal to update the context set.
Illustration 1: Assertions

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(7) A: Mary is going to the LSA.
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An assertion is a proposal to update the context set.

(7) A: Mary is going to the LSA.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{context set} \\
\text{future context set} \\
\text{temp. context set}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
q \\
\{q\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\rightarrow (7A)
\]

Note: When Table is empty, the actual context set is projected as the future context set (Farkas and Bruce 2010)
Illustration 1: Assertions

An assertion is a proposal to update the context set

- Add the set of the proposition to the top of the Table

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\text{table} \\
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\end{array}
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\emptyset \\
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\{q\} \\
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\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{context set} \\
\text{future context set} \\
\text{temp. context set}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
q \\
\{q\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\xrightarrow{(7A)}
\begin{array}{c}
\langle \{\lambda w.\text{M.go.LSA}_w\} \rangle \\
q \\
\{q \cap \{w : \text{M.go.LSA}_w\}\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\]

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- Add the set of the proposition to the top of the Table
- Project a future context set where the proposition holds

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\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{context set} \\
\text{future context set} \\
\text{temp. context set}
\end{array}
\begin{aligned}
\emptyset & \quad q \\
\{q\} & \quad \emptyset
\end{aligned}
\quad \rightarrow 
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset & \quad \{\lambda w.\text{M.go.LSA}_w\} \\
\{q\} & \quad q \\
\emptyset & \quad \{q \cap \{w : \text{M.go.LSA}_w\}\}
\end{array}
\]

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Resolving the proposal by acceptance:

(8) A: Mary is going to the LSA.
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B: Yes, she is.
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    B: Yes, she is.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\langle \{ \lambda w . \text{M.go.LSA}_w \} \rangle \\
q \\
\{ q \cap \{ w : \text{M.go.LSA}_w \} \} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\langle \emptyset \rangle \\
\emptyset \\
\emptyset \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\text{(8B)}
\]

Overall effect of the conversation: elimination of \( \neg \text{M.go.LSA} \)-worlds from context set.
Resolving the proposal by acceptance:

(8)  A: Mary is going to the LSA.  
     B: Yes, she is.

- Remove the issue from the table

\[
\text{table} \quad \langle \{ \lambda w . \text{M.go.LSA}_w \} \rangle \\
\text{cs} \qquad q \\
\text{fut. cs} \quad \{ q \cap \{ w : \text{M.go.LSA}_w \} \} \\
\text{temp. cs} \quad \emptyset
\]

\[
\overset{(8B)}{\rightarrow}
\]
Resolving the proposal by acceptance:

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    B: Yes, she is.

- Remove the issue from the table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>table</th>
<th>(\langle {\lambda w.\text{M.go.LSA}_w} \rangle)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cs</td>
<td>(q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut. cs</td>
<td>({q \cap { w : \text{M.go.LSA}_w }})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temp. cs</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(8B)\]

\[\langle \emptyset \rangle\]

Overall effect of the conversation: elimination of \(\neg \text{M.go.LSA}\)-worlds from context set.
Resolving the proposal by acceptance:

(8) A: Mary is going to the LSA.
    B: Yes, she is.

- Remove the issue from the table
- Replace the actual context set with the projected future context set

Overall effect of the conversation: elimination of ¬M.go.LSA-worlds from context set
Illustration 2: Questions

A question is a proposal to update the context set with one of its answers
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(9) A: Where’s the professor?
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A question is **a proposal to update the context set with one of its answers**

(9) A: Where’s the professor?

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\left[
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
q \\
\{q\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\right] \quad (9A)
\]
Illustration 2: Questions

A question is a proposal to update the context set with one of its answers.
- Add the denotation of the question to the top of the Table

\[(9) \quad A: \text{Where's the professor?}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
table \\
cs \\
fut. cs \\
temp. cs
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
q \\
\{q\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\xrightarrow{(9A)}
\]
Illustration 2: Questions

A question is a proposal to update the context set with one of its answers.

- Add the denotation of the question to the top of the Table

(9) A: Where’s the professor?

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
q \\
\{q\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\xrightarrow{(9A)}
\begin{array}{c}
\{\lambda w.p.in.office_w, \lambda w.p.at.home_w, \ldots\} \\
q \\
q \cap \{w : p.office_w\}, q \cap \{w : p.home_w\}, \ldots
\end{array}\]
Illustration 2: Questions

A question is a proposal to update the context set with one of its answers

- Add the denotation of the question to the top of the Table
- Project a set of future context sets where one of the possible answers hold

(9) A: Where’s the professor?

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
q \\
\{q\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\xrightarrow{(9A)}
\begin{array}{c}
\langle q \cap \{w : \text{p.office}_w\}, q \cap \{w : \text{p.home}_w\}, \ldots \rangle \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\]

\[
\langle \lambda w.\text{p.in.office}_w, \lambda w.\text{p.at.home}_w, \ldots \rangle
\]
Resolving the proposal with an answer:

(10) A: Where’s the professor?
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(10)  A: Where’s the professor?
    B: She's in the office.
Resolving the proposal with an answer:

(10)   A: Where’s the professor?
     B: She’s in the office.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\left\langle \begin{array}{c}
\langle \{ \lambda w. p.\text{office}_w, \ldots \} \rangle \\
q \\
\{ q \cap \{ w : p.\text{office}_w \}, \ldots \} \\
\emptyset
\end{array} \rightangle \quad (10B)
\]
Resolving the proposal with an answer:

(10) A: Where’s the professor?
    B: She’s in the office.

- Remove the issue from the table

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\langle \{ \lambda w . p.\text{office}_w , \ldots \} \rangle \\
q \\
\{ q \cap \{ w : p.\text{office}_w \}, \ldots \} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\xrightarrow{(10B)}
\]
Resolving the proposal with an answer:

(10)    A: Where’s the professor?
       B: She’s in the office.

- Remove the issue from the table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>table</th>
<th>(\langle{\lambda w. p.\text{office}_w, \ldots}\rangle)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cs</td>
<td>(q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut. cs</td>
<td>({q \cap {w : p.\text{office}_w}, \ldots})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temp. cs</td>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Resolving the proposal with an answer:

(10) A: Where’s the professor?
    B: She’s in the office.

- Remove the issue from the table
- Pick out the relevant future context set and make it the actual context set

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\langle \{ \lambda w. \text{p.office}_w, \ldots \} \rangle \\
q \\
\{ q \cap \{ w : \text{p.office}_w \}, \ldots \} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\langle \emptyset \rangle \\
q \cap \{ w : \text{p.office}_w \} \\
\{ q \cap \{ w : \text{p.office}_w \} \}, \ldots \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\]

Overall effect of the conversation: elimination of $\neg p.\text{in.office}$-worlds from context set
Resolving the proposal with an answer:

(10) A: Where’s the professor?  
B: She’s in the office.

- Remove the issue from the table
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```

table  cs futex. cs temp. cs
       ⟨{\lambda w.p.office_w, ...}⟩ q {q \cap \{w : p.office_w\}, ...}  ⟩ (10B) ⟩  q \cap \{w : p.office_w\} \{q \cap \{w : p.office_w\}\}  ⟩


```

Overall effect of the conversation: elimination of \( \neg p.in.office \)-worlds from context set
Proposal
Conditional connectives restrict temporary CS to antecedent-worlds:
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(11) $[\text{tara}] (p) = [\text{nara}] (p) = \lambda c. \langle \text{Table}_c, \text{CS}_c, \text{Fut-CS}_c, \text{CS}_c \cap p \rangle$
Conditional connectives restrict temporary CS to antecedent-worlds:

\[(11) \quad \llbracket tara \rrbracket(p) = \llbracket nara \rrbracket(p) = \lambda c. \langle Table_c, CS_c, Fut-CS_c, CS_c \cap p \rangle\]

Two definedness conditions

- **General condition for all conditional connectives:**

- **Specific condition for nara:**
Conditional connectives restrict temporary CS to antecedent-worlds:

\[(11) \quad \text{[} tara \text{]}(p) = \text{[} nara \text{]}(p) = \lambda c. \langle \text{Table}_c, \text{CS}_c \cup \text{Fut-CS}_c, \text{CS}_c \cap p \rangle \]

Two definedness conditions

- **General condition for all conditional connectives:**
  Context set must not entail \( p \)
  

- **Specific condition for nara:**
Conditional connectives restrict \textit{temporary CS} to antecedent-worlds:

\[(11) \quad \text{[tara]}(p) = \text{[nara]}(p) = \lambda c. \langle \text{Table}_c, \text{CS}_c, \text{Fut-CS}_c, \text{CS}_c \cap p \rangle\]

\[\text{general condition} \quad \text{specific condition}\]

Two definedness conditions

- \textbf{General condition for all conditional connectives:}
  Context set must not entail \(p\)
  

- \textbf{Specific condition for nara:}
  There must be a future CS where \(p\) holds
Predictions: After assertions (factual conditionals)

(12)  
A:  I have decided to go to the winter LSA.  
B:  *kimi-ga iku nara, boku-mo iku yo.*  
    you-nom go nara l-add go sfp  
    ‘If you’re going, I’m going, too.’  
    (Adapted from Akatsuka 1985: 629)
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\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{context set} \\
\text{future context set} \\
\text{temp. context set}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\emptyset \\
q \\
\{q\} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\xrightarrow{(12A)}
\]
Predictions: After assertions (factual conditionals)

(12)  
A: I have decided to go to the winter LSA.  
B: *kimi-ga iku nara, boku-mo iku yo.*  

you-nom go nara l-add go sfp  
‘If you’re going, I’m going, too.’  
(Adapted from Akatsuka 1985: 629)

The context of (12B) has a future CS where speaker A goes to LSA. So, nara’s specific condition is satisfied.
Predictions: After assertions (factual conditionals)

(12) A: I have decided to go to the winter LSA.
B: *kimi-ga iku nara, boku-mo iku yo.*
    you-nom go nara l-add go sfp
    ‘If you’re going, I’m going, too.’
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The context of (12B) has a future CS where speaker A goes to LSA.
Predictions: After assertions (factual conditionals)

(12) A: I have decided to go to the winter LSA.
    B: *kimi-ga iku nara, boku-mo iku yo.*
       you-nom go nara l-add go sfp
       'If you’re going, I’m going, too.'       (Adapted from Akatsuka 1985: 629)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{table} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \langle \{ & \lambda w. \text{go.to.LSA}(A) \}_{w} \rangle \\
\text{context set} & \quad q & \quad q \\
\text{future context set} & \quad \{q\} & \quad \langle q \cap \{w : \text{go.to.LSA}_{w}(A)\} \rangle \\
\text{temp. context set} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \emptyset
\end{align*}
\]

The context of (12B) has a future CS where speaker A goes to LSA.

So, *nara’s specific condition is satisfied.*
Predictions: Out-of-the-blue contexts

[You arrive at a new campus and are lost on your way to the semester orientation. To a stranger...]

(13) *sumimasen...*

sorry

#moshi ima nyuugakushiki-no kaijou-ni ikareteiru *nara, basho-o* supposedly now orientation-gen venue-dat going *nara* place-acc

*oshiete itadake-mas-en ka?*

teach give-pol-neg q

‘Excuse me. If you’re going to the orientation, could you tell me where it is?’
Predictions: Out-of-the-blue contexts

[You arrive at a new campus and are lost on your way to the semester orientation. To a stranger...]

(13)  

*sumimasen*...

sorry

#moshi ima nyuugakushiki-no kaijou-ni ikareteiru *nara*, *basho-o* supposedly now orientation-gen venue-dat going nara place-acc

*oshiete itadake-mas-en ka?* teach give-pol-neg q

‘Excuse me. If you’re going to the orientation, could you tell me where it is?’

The context doesn’t have future CS where the addressee is going to the orientation.
Predictions: Out-of-the-blue contexts

[You arrive at a new campus and are lost on your way to the semester orientation. To a stranger...]

(13) sumimasen...
sorry

#moshi ima nyuugakushiki-no kaijou-ni ikareteiru nara, basho-o supposedly now orientation-gen venue-dat going nara place-acc
oshiete itadake-mas-en ka?
teach give-pol-neg q

‘Excuse me. If you’re going to the orientation, could you tell me where it is?’

The context doesn’t have future CS where the addressee is going to the orientation.

So, nara’s specific condition is not satisfied.
Predictions: After questions

(14)  A: Where’s the professor?
B: wakar-anai kedo, ofisu-ni iru nara, boku-mo kiki-tai koto-ga
know-neg but office-dat be nara I-add ask-want thing-nom aru.
be
‘I don’t know, but if she’s in the office, I also have something to
ask her.’
Predictions: After questions

(14)  
A: Where’s the professor?  
B: wakar-anai kedo, ofisu-ni iru nara, boku-mo kiki-tai koto-ga  
know-neg but office-dat be nara I-add ask-want thing-nom aru.  
be  
‘I don’t know, but if she’s in the office, I also have something to  
ask her.’

table \[\left\langle \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ q \\ \{q\} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\rangle \right\rangle (14A)

cs fut. cs temp. cs
Predictions: After questions

(14) A: Where’s the professor?
B: *wakar-anai kedo, ofisu-ni iru nara, boku-mo kiki-tai koto-ga*

know-neg but office-dat be nara I-add ask-want thing-nom aru.
be
‘I don’t know, but if she’s in the office, I also have something to ask her.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{table} & \quad \langle \emptyset \rangle & \quad \langle \{ \lambda w. \text{p.in.office}_w, \lambda w. \text{p.at.home}_w, \ldots \} \rangle \\
\text{cs} & \quad \langle q \rangle & \quad \langle q \cap \{ w : \text{office}_w \}, q \cap \{ w : \text{home}_w \}, \ldots \rangle \\
\text{fut. cs} & \quad \langle \{ q \} \rangle & \quad \langle q \rangle \\
\text{temp. cs} & \quad \langle \emptyset \rangle & \quad \langle \emptyset \rangle
\end{align*}
\]
Predictions: After questions

(14) A: Where’s the professor?
B: wakar-anai kedo, ofisu-ni iru nara, boku-mo kiki-tai koto-ga
know-neg but office-dat be nara l-add ask-want thing-nom aru.
be
‘I don’t know, but if she’s in the office, I also have something to ask her.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>table</th>
<th>Φ</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>{q}</th>
<th>Φ</th>
<th>{{w.p.in.office_w, \ldots}}</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>{q \cap {w : office_w}, q \cap {w : home_w}, \ldots}</th>
<th>Φ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cs</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>{q}</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>{λw.p.in.office_w, λw.p.at.home_w, \ldots}</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>{q \cap {w : office_w}, q \cap {w : home_w}, \ldots}</td>
<td>Φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fut. cs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(14A)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temp. cs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The context of (14B) has a future CS where prof. is in the office.
Predictions: After questions

(14) A: Where’s the professor?
B: *wakar-anai kedo, ofisu-ni iru nara, boku-mo kiki-tai koto-ga*

know-neg but office-dat be nara I-add ask-want thing-nom

aru.

be

‘I don’t know, but if she’s in the office, I also have something to ask her.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{table} & \quad \langle \emptyset \rangle \\
\text{cs} & \quad \langle q \rangle \\
\text{fut. cs} & \quad \langle \{q\} \rangle \\
\text{temp. cs} & \quad \langle \emptyset \rangle \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\xrightarrow{(14A)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\langle \{\lambda w.\pi .\text{in}.\text{office}_w, \lambda w.\pi .\text{at}.\text{home}_w, \ldots\} \rangle \\
\quad q \\
\quad \{q \cap \{w : \text{office}_w\}, q \cap \{w : \text{home}_w\}, \ldots\} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The context of (14B) **has a future CS where prof. is in the office.**

So, *nara*’s specific condition is satisfied.
Predictions: With speaker commitment to the antecedent

(15) A: Mary was elected as the next department head.

B: #shit-te-ru yo! kanojo-ga era-bare-ta nara, iwatte age-you.
   know sfp she-nom be.selected nara celebrate give-vol
   #I know! If she was elected, we should celebrate for her.
Predictions: With speaker commitment to the antecedent

(15) A: Mary was elected as the next department head.
B: #shit-te-ru yo! kanojo-ga era-bare-ta nara, iwatte age-you.
    know sfp she-nom be.selected nara celebrate give-vol
    #I know! If she was elected, we should celebrate for her.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{table} \\
\text{cs} \\
\text{fut. cs} \\
\text{temp. cs}
\end{array}
\left\langle \left\langle \lambda w. \text{elected}_w \right\rangle \right. \\
\left. \left\langle \left\langle q \cap \left\{ w : \text{elected}_w \right\} \right\rangle \right. \\
\left. \rightarrow I \text{ know!} \right.
\]
Predictions: With speaker commitment to the antecedent

(15) A: Mary was elected as the next department head.

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The context of the nara-conditional in (15B) has a CS where Mary was elected. So, the general condition is not satisfied. (Note: nara's specific condition is satisfied.) This also correctly rules out the other conditional connectives (e.g. tara).
Predictions: With speaker commitment to the antecedent

(15) A: Mary was elected as the next department head.
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The context of the nara-conditional in (15B) has a CS where Mary was elected.
Predictions: With speaker commitment to the antecedent

(15) A: Mary was elected as the next department head.

B: #shit-te-ru yo! kanojo-ga era-bare-ta nara, iwatte age-you.
  know  sfp she-nom  be.selected nara  celebrate give-vol
  #I know! If she was elected, we should celebrate for her.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
table \\
cs \\
fut. cs \\
temp. cs
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\langle \{ \lambda w. \text{elected}_w \} \rangle \\
q \\
\{ q \cap \{ w : \text{elected}_w \} \} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\quad
\quad
\langle \emptyset \rangle \\
q \cap \{ w : \text{elected}_w \} \\
\{ q \cap \{ w : \text{elected}_w \} \} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\]

The context of the \textit{nara}-conditional in (15B) has a CS where Mary was elected.

So, \textbf{the general condition is not satisfied}. (Note: \textit{nara}'s specific condition is satisfied.)
Predictions: With speaker commitment to the antecedent

(15)  A: Mary was elected as the next department head.

B: ＃shit-te-ru yo! kanojo-ga era-bare-ta nara, iwatte age-you.
    know sfp she-nom be.selected nara celebrate give-vol #I know! If she was elected, we should celebrate for her.

The context of the nara-conditional in (15B) has a CS where Mary was elected.

So, the general condition is not satisfied. (Note: nara’s specific condition is satisfied.)

This also correctly rules out the other conditional connectives (e.g. tara).
Conclusion
Two discourse constraints on conditionals

1. *nara*-conditionals are felicitous
   - afte assertions
   - after questions

2. *nara*-conditionals are infelicitous
   - in out-of-the-blue contexts

3. Conditionals (including *nara*) are infelicitous
   - with speaker commitments to the antecedent
Two discourse constraints on conditionals

1. *nara*-conditionals are felicitous
   - afte assertions
   - after questions
   ✓ by *nara*'s specific condition

2. *nara*-conditionals are infelicitous
   - in out-of-the-blue contexts
   ✓ by *nara*'s specific condition

3. conditionals (including *nara*) are infelicitous
   - with speaker commitments to the antecedent
Two discourse constraints on conditionals

1. *nara*-conditionals are felicitous ✓
   - after assertions
   - after questions

2. *nara*-conditionals are infelicitous ✓
   - in out-of-the-blue contexts

3. Conditionals (including *nara*) are infelicitous ✓
   - with speaker commitments to the antecedent

   ✓ by *nara’s* specific condition
   ✓ by the general condition
Remaining issues

1. Interaction with evidentials, imperatives, etc. (cf. paper)
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2. Interaction with discourse structure, e.g. question-answering strategies. (cf. paper)
Remaining issues

1. Interaction with evidentials, imperatives, etc. (cf. paper)

2. Interaction with discourse structure, e.g. question-answering strategies.
   (cf. paper)

(16) A: Will Nobita come tomorrow?

   B: *SHIzuka-ga kuru nara, Nobita-mo kuru to omo-imas-u kedo...*

   Shizuka-nom come nara Nobita-add come c think-pol-npst but
   ‘I think if Shizuka comes, Nobita will also come (at least)...’
Thank you!

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References I


